178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

443 462 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 562 The activities of men and women therefore complement each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 554 576 571 521 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 562 571 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression. Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 858] people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[687] dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
• 521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

571 Young women and men often evade each other
626 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
834 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

177 Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
834 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

595 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken
578 could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all. [521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

[593 576 276]

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
● 521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /[illegible]/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the c[illegible]ce of the younger. The bride learns the questions a[illegible]ers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this inst[illegible]nd if the man and woman concerned are not rela[illegible]ch other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
● 521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

834
585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

538 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

684

[114]

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the
684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then
[626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because
[558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed
[521] does the danger become real for the woman. She always has a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 672] moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner,
The Individual and His
Society, fourth edition,
New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
571 of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
578 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
[685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person.

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved.

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now.

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
● 521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar, and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622] 178

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

Makassar 066

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
● 521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and
203 then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties would get much support. He also said that the relatively

M 0665 0521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past